PROBLEMS OF ADJUSTMENT AND CHANGE THROUGH SOJOURN

by

LEVEL

Cigdem Kagitcibasi

Department of Social Sciences
BOGAZICI UNIVERSITY

TURKEY

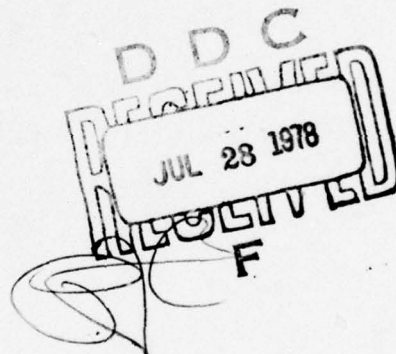ARI LIAISON OFFICE, EUROPE
London, England

DDC
JUL 28 1978
F

FEBRUARY 1978

Prepared for

ari

U.S. ARMY RESEARCH INSTITUTE
for the BEHAVIORAL and SOCIAL SCIENCES
5001 Eisenhower Avenue
Alexandria, Virginia 22333

78 07 25 012

U. S. ARMY RESEARCH INSTITUTE
FOR THE BEHAVIORAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

A Field Operating Agency under the Jurisdiction of the
Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel

W. C. MAUS
COL, GS
Commander

J. E. UHLANER
Technical Director

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE		READ INSTRUCTIONS BEFORE COMPLETING FORM
1. REPORT NUMBER TR-78-TH1	2. GOVT ACCESSION NO.	3. RECIPIENT'S CATALOG NUMBER
4. TITLE *(and Subtitle)* PROBLEMS OF ADJUSTMENT AND CHANGE THROUGH SOJOURN		5. TYPE OF REPORT & PERIOD COVERED Final Report.
		6. PERFORMING ORG. REPORT NUMBER
7. AUTHOR(s) Cigdem Kagitcibasi		8. CONTRACT OR GRANT NUMBER(s)
9. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME AND ADDRESS Bogazici University Bebek, Istanbul, Turkey		10. PROGRAM ELEMENT, PROJECT, TASK AREA & WORK UNIT NUMBERS 2Q161102B74E
11. CONTROLLING OFFICE NAME AND ADDRESS US Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences PERI-E 5001 Eisenhower Avenue, Alexandria, VA 22333		12. REPORT DATE February 1978
		13. NUMBER OF PAGES 71
14. MONITORING AGENCY NAME & ADDRESS*(if different from Controlling Office)*		15. SECURITY CLASS. *(of this report)* Unclassified
		15a. DECLASSIFICATION/DOWNGRADING SCHEDULE

16. DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT *(of this Report)*

Approved for public release; distribution unlimited

17. DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT *(of the abstract entered in Block 20, if different from Report)*

18. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

Research monitored by Dr. Michael Kaplan, Army Research Institute European liaison in London, England.

19. KEY WORDS *(Continue on reverse side if necessary and identify by block number)*
Cross-cultural Research
Sojourn Experience
Overseas Adjustment
Cross-cultural Education
Cultural Differences

20. ABSTRACT *(Continue on reverse side if necessary and identify by block number)*

The report consists of a survey of sojourn research, including a recent study of Turkish students in the U.S. Adjustment of Americans in overseas areas is discussed, and policy-oriented recommendations are made with the aim of aiding better adjustment of American military personnel in Europe.

PROBLEMS OF ADJUSTMENT
AND CHANGE THROUGH SOJOURN[1]

With greatly increased travel, communications and diffusion of information, today people are no longer the products of their own cultures, alone. Cross-cultural mobility involving interpersonal contacts is an especially profound source of change in attitudes and worldview of people undergoing such an experience. Sojourn experience is a special type of cross-national encounter which has been studied in some detail. A literature survey reveals some eighty different research articles on this topic published in various journals and a few books.

In this report first a survey of sojourn research will be given to be followed by a presentation of the Turkish AFS study conducted by the author on young Turkish sojourners in the U.S. Then the case of the American military sojourner overseas will be discussed, and finally policy-oriented recommendations will be provided directed toward the better adjustment of the American military personnel in Europe.

SURVEY OF LITERATURE

Most of the social psychological studies examining sojourn experience have been conducted within the last two decades. Following the first studies done by the "Committee on Cross-Cultural Education" (Smith 1956) a number of

social psychologists have been concerned with this topic. This interest is probably due to the increased amount of student exchange and the rising opportunities of foreign education in recent years. If studies on migrations resulting in change of citizenship are excluded, the effects of sojourn experience have been studied most frequently on students.

The studies which have been conducted in the last decade mostly with students share certain common characteristics:

1. The first prominent aspect is that most of the studies examining the the effects of sojourn experience upon the individual have been conducted with foreign students in the United States by American social scientists.

2. Related with this first observation, most of the studies have dealt with the issue of whether the foreign students developed positive attitudes towards Americans as a result of living in the United States. Thus, most of the studies aimed to discover under what circumstances foreigners developed positive attitudes towards the host nation.

3. A third common characteristic in most of the studies is the emphasis on adjustment problems of the foreign students. In these studies an applied approach is apparent, seeking remedies to the practical adjustment problems of foreign students.

4. Besides attempting to arrive at some generalizations on the adjustment problems, most of the studies focus on individual differences. Specifically, various reasons underlying individual differences adjustment and attitudes towards the host nation are considered.

5. Finally, the studies on this topic are generally empirical "exploratory

and descriptive" type studies. That is, usually the purpose is to describe or to reflect correctly an existent situation or a social psychological process. Theory development is of secondary concern. Some theoretical frameworks have been proposed but in general it can be said that sojourn research is somewhat weak in theoretical sophistication. Keeping in mind the above-listed characteristics of research on the effects of sojourn experience various topical issues can be classified in four main categories. The first topical issue is the type of sojourn experience. Within this general topic interpersonal relations and living conditions are emphasized. The second general topical issue comprises cultural factors. An example would be the national/cultural characteristics reflected in the sojourner. The third topical issue is attitude change through time. Attempts to develop theories are most frequent in studies concerned with this particular topic. In these studies attitudes towards the host country (The United States) have been given special attention among the sojourners'changing attitudes. The fourth topic may be designated in general as personality factors. Here, topics such as prejudice, motivation and psycho-social modernity are examined.

In the following review of literature the above classification in terms of the four topical areas will be used.

THE NATURE OF SOJOURN

The Learning Process:

Sojourn experience may be interpreted as a new "learning process."[2]

---

[2] We meet this kind of interpretation in most studies. For instance French and Zajonc (1957), Herman and Schild (1960, a and b), and Schild (1962).

A newcomer in a foreign country has to go through various learning processes. Particularly, the individual has to learn the social norms[3] governing the new types of behavior expected of him in order to adjust to his new environment. Learning new behaviors in a partially unknown social environment is not unique to sojourn experience. From time to time individuals in every society enter into situations in which they are required to learn new behaviors. For example, the individual has to go through a new learning process when he acquires a new social role (let us say when he starts a new job, when he gets married, becomes a mother or a father). But in these cases well-known social expectations and familiar social structure facilitate the acquisition of new behavior patterns.

Certain factors have an inhibitory rather than a facilitating impact on the new learnings of a newcomer in a foreign country. Two such factors are the following (Schild, 1962, p.43):

1. The "social position" of the foreigner is not in the center of society, but is rather peripheral. Yet, effective means of social learning may be more easily obtained in the central sphere. For example, an adolescent in his own society goes through an "anticipatory socialization" in his friendship group which helps him or her to assume the future role of an adult. For an individual who enters a new society such opportunities are very limited since he is in a marginal position.

2. The previous learnings of the foreigner have been shaped in a different culture. But social learning is cumulative, that is, it depends upon previous learnings. For example, some symbols and motives acquired in previous learnings may be used in later social learnings. However, learnt symbols

(3) Here the concept of social norm means social rules and regulations.

and motives in a culture may not be appropriate for application in later
social learnings in a different culture. It is in this respect also that
social learning necessitated by sojourn experience presents a special
difficulty.

Three methods may be used in social learning in a foreign country to
deal with the above-mentioned difficulties: "Observation" is the most
frequently used learning method particularly at the beginning of sojourn
experience. The first observations give the foreigner detailed information
about the social norms and role expectations of the host country.

Observation may be qualified as a "passive" type of learning. However,
a foreigner who goes to a foreign country to stay for a while has to
participate in the life there. In this process of participation he exhibits
various behaviors and regulates his future behaviors according to the results
of the former. In this participation process the main type of learning
involved is "trial-and-error".

In 'learning through direct communication", however, information about
the appropriate behavior patterns is usually provided orally to the foreigner
by others.

All three kinds of learning continue throughout the sojourn experience
but it could be stated that observation is more important in the first stages
and learning through participation assumes more importance after the first
stage. Watson and Lippitt (1955) have divided sojourn experience into stages.
They have called the first the "Onlooker stage" and the second the "participation-
entrance stage."[4] It may be thought that these two stages are parallel to

---

(4) The third and fourth stages are respectively "acceptance and problem
solving stage" and "pre-departure stage." This first approach which
examines sojourn experience by dividing it into stages has been more
widespread later by the application of the concepts of U and W curves.
We shall touch upon this point again in the topic of "Attitude Change
Through Time."

to the observation and participation types of learning respectively. Or at least these types of learning are more important at these stages. Learning through direct communication however, is equally common and important at every stage of sojourn experience.

Sojourn experience viewed as a new social learning process may help to clarify various aspects of this social psychological phenomenon. In the following examination of studies it is useful to regard sojourn experience basically as a "learning" process.

The type of sojourn experience has been the primary topic of most studies. In these studies besides "learning" two other aspects of sojourn experience are emphasized.

One of these is interpersonal relations, the other is situational factors consisting mainly of living conditions. Of these two topics the former has been emphasized more in research.

Interpersonal Relations

It is a common assumption that getting to know the people of a foreign country will lead to liking them. This hypothesis would lead one to expect that visitors to a country will leave with more favorable views than they held before arrival. But as suggested by various research on cross-cultural education, this expectation is oversimplified and overly optimistic. For instance, Riegel (1953), Watson and Lippitt (1955), Langley and Basu (1953) and Selltiz and Cook (1962) have shown in their studies that negative attitudes as well as positive ones may emerge out of cross-cultural contacts. It is clear that various factors may lead to positive attitudes in the sojourner.

Interpersonal relations in a foreign country is without doubt one of the most important of these factors.

If we take as the measure of social relations the student's report of whether he has at least one close friend among the host, the connection of this variable with beliefs and feelings about the host country becomes evident. Selltiz et.al. (1963) found that the foreign students who reported having developed close friendship with one or more Americans expressed greater positive attitudes towards Americans than did those without a close American friend.

There is, however, a question of interpretation here. To start with, some persons may in general tend to give optimistic or favorable answers to questions. Because of this general optimistic tendency, they may report both having made close American friends and also may favor such characteristics of Americans as friendship and family patterns[5].

As for the subjects with the opposite tendency, while on the one hand they may fuss over the word "close friend" and report not having made such friends, and also, due to the same general pessimistic tendency, they may express negative beliefs and feelings about the host country.

In both cases, the statistical association between the "close friend" variable and attitudes towards the host country may reflect a general response set of the individual rather than a true causal relation between these two variables.

---

(5) The findings of Selltiz et.al. (1963) included positive attitudes about these characteristics.

This problem primarily reflects the difficulty of deriving causal relations from correlational association. That is to say, it is not possible to claim that of the two correlated variables causes the other since, as is the case in the above-mentioned example, both may result from a third variable.

A further problem of interpretation regarding the causal link between the "close friend" variable and positive attitudes towards the host country has to do with the direction of the link. As mentioned above, pure correlation does not imply causation. But in social science research time differences permit the researcher to move on to causal connections from correlations. However, this is not possible in Selltiz and Cook study since reports of close friendship were obtained at only one point in time, that is, at the end of the first academic year. Those subjects who reported having at least one close American friend were also more favorable in their attitudes towards the United States. Here it is unclear whether those who had already made close American friends were the most likely to have favorable attitudes about their country, or those who were initially most favorable were the most likely to make friends with Americans.

These problems of interpretation are not unique to Selltiz and Cook study. They exist in other studies based on correlations in this field. Therefore we found it necessary to examine this problem attentively. In our study the "before" and "after" measurements were intended to take care of the questions about interpretation.

In Gezi's study (1965) the findings confirmed those obtained by Selltiz and Cook. This study was done with 62 Middle Eastern students in California.

A strong correlation (p = 0.001) was found between the general adjustment of foreign students and the meaningfulness of their interaction with Americans.

Antler (1970) in a study with 170 foreign medical residents in the United States examined not only friendship with Americans but also with own countrymen. He found that the group which had more personal contacts with own countrymen was less adjusted. This group also held more nationalistic attitudes, had more interaction with other foreigners and was not satisfied with the training program. The author explains these findings on the basis of the concepts of reference group and anticipatory socialization.

Becker (1967) had also obtained similar results in a previous study with foreign students in the United States. Relative to the other periods, the students associated much more with their own countrymen in periods when their dependence on their home country was strong and negative attitudes towards the host nation were apparent.

Hofman and Zak study (1969) in Israel showed that among the foreign residents in camps those who most frequently associated with the host group had the most favorable attitudes and beliefs about Israel. Some other studies (e.g. Taft and Johnston, 1967; Hylsan-Smith, 1968) on various migrant groups in England and the United States produced similar results.

Thus, it appears that the topic of interpersonal relations is quite important in research on the type of sojourn experience.

Living Conditions:

Research on the type of sojourn experience examines the living conditions

of the sojourner as another major issue. Selltiz et.al. (1963) observed
for example, that foreign students in small colleges and universities associated
with Americans more frequently compared with those in large universities.
Upon further investigation it becomes clear that this situation is related
to the living conditions offered by the universities varying in size. For
instance, dormitory living provides many more chances for interperonal
relations than the anonymous single room or apartment residence. That is
to say, the type of sojourn experience is influenced to a great extent by
situational factors encompassing specific living conditions.

CULTURAL FACTORS

It is natural that research conducted on the effects of sojourn experience
examines cultural differences. Whether the sojourner perceives his own
country as more advanced or more backward in comparison to the host country
appears to affect his sojourn experience significantly. Various studies have
demonstrated the problem of inferiority feelings by Asian and African students
in Europe and the United States and the resulting forms of defensive behavior
(Pool, 1966).

National - Personal Status Differences:

The position of the homeland in relation to the host country and the
individual's perception of the two form the basis of the cultural factors
involved in sojourn. Here, the basic issues are the relationships between
the two countries, levels of prestige of the two countries, how the individual
perceives the host country and its people and how the host nation perceives
the foreigner and his country.

The various expectations, motivations and prejudices which exist prior
to cross-cultural contact may alter the effect of sojourn experience upon
the individual to a great extent. Watson and Lippitt study (1955) with
Germans in the United States showed the personal feelings of subservience
and the resulting forms of defensive behavior on the part of the subjects.
This was a reflection at the individual level of the post-war psychology of
a defeated homeland. Morris (1960) indicated the national status of an
individual to be a basic factor influencing his adjustment. The way the
individual perceives how his country is viewed by the host nation influences
the friendship patterns he is about to establish. Accordingly, it was
observed that because of this reason European students in the United States
made more American friends than did non European students (Selltiz et.al. 1963).

It has been noted that especially in the incipient period of sojourn
experience students of different cultures resort to different defense
mechanisms when they meet the first adjustment problems characterized as the
"culture shock". (Gullahorn and Gullahorn, 1963, p. 38). For instance,
Indian and Pakistani students, upon detection of prejudice toward their
countries in the United States use the reaction of hate blended with
oversensitivity as an ego defense mechanism. (Lambert and Bressler, 1956).
As a result of such adjustment problems the projection mechanism in the form
of attributing one's own feelings onto others is used as well (Coelho, 1958).
The study by Bennett, Passin and Mc Knight (1958) showed a defense mechanism
unique to the Japanes student. When he is caught up in a situation that
hurts his national pride, the Japanese student withdraws in self-defense.
The variations in defense mechanisms could possibly be explained by the

different cultural norms and traditions the sojourners have.

National status enjoyed abroad tends to be tied in with personal status.
The sojourner may become very sensitive about the status accorded his own
national group by the host nation. Kelman (1963) observed that Asian foreign
students, in particular, experienced a great deal of status deprivation.
Gezi (1965) also found that the students' perception of how Americans rated
the students' homeland was significantly associated with their adjustment in
the United States, and with success in academic performance. In a previous
study, Davis (1963) had also found the sojourner's satisfaction with his
experience in the United States to be dependent to a large extent on the
degree to which this experience helped to enhance his status and thus his
self esteem.

Cultural Differences:

In various studies cultural differences between the sojourner's own
country and the host country have been dealt with. As previously mentioned,
when these differences are significant they produce the "culture shock". and
adjustment of the individual to his new milieu becomes difficult. (e.g. Seth,
1961; Becker, 1967; Pool, 1966). In relation to this issue, the "orientation
programs" are found to be more useful for the students from Africa and Asia
than for those from Europe. (Selltiz et.al., 1963).

A related finding is that students who had travelled abroad prior to a
long-term sojourn experience went through and easier adjustment phase. (Selltiz
et.al., 1963). This finding may also be tied up with cultural factors because

an individual who goes abroad even on a short-term touristic trip encounters a different culture. Even though at a simple level, the person who has had experience in a different culture will later have an easier adjustment to another culture than one who has never gone through this experience before.

Finally, the case of the foreigner who is reluctant to return to his country presents a further problem investigated by research (Mayntz, 1960, p. 736 and Coelho, 1958).

As it was explained previously, the attitude of the visitor toward the host nation has been an important topic of study. In various studies Du Bois (1956) noted that liking a nation does not necessarily mean approval of its foreign policy. In addition, liking and respect for a nation appear to be two different attitudes. The Useem and Useem study (1955) of Indian students found that the students educated in England respected the English but did not like them; conversely the ones educated in the United States liked the Americans but did not respect them.

According to other results sojourn experience does not render the attitudes about a nation more positive or more negative but moderates the exceedingly positive or negative attitudes. (Bauer, Pool and Dexter, 1963, and Cherrington, 1934). Related with this issue another general finding shows that sojourn experience generally reduces stereotypes. This fact may be more important than whether an individual in a foreign country develops positive or negative attitudes toward that country. As the attitudes of an individual become increasingly more multidimensional, cognitively differentiated

and complex, stereotypes and prejudices decrease (Coelho, 1958; Selltiz et.al., 1963).

ATTITUDE CHANGE THROUGH TIME

Most of the studies on sojourn experience have dealt with its effects upon attitudes. It is only natural that certain attitudes will change as a result of sojourn experience which involves crucial novel experiences for the individual.

Attitude change due to the sojourn experience has been generally studied concerning adolescents and adults since usually individuals have the chance to go abroad only at these ages. But Bjerstedt's study (1962, pp. 24-29) provides an exception at this point. Here, within the framework of a natural experiment, the subjects were about 200 11 year-old children from 16 countries who came to join five camps in Scandinavia. The study indicated the initial existence of certain stereotyped prejudices about other nations even among the eleven-year-olds. The basic finding of the study was that these stereotyped beliefs changed when the individuals participated in direct personal relations. That a short summer camp of six weeks could correct the stereotyped beliefs of children is a hopeful finding.

Perhaps in this study the stereotyped beliefs were not yet quite settled, deep and structured. It might be argued that the stereotypes held by adults about other nations are more settled and solidified and thus do not lend themselves easily to changes in such a short time. As a matter of fact, most of of the studies on the effects of sojourn experience upon attitudes have considered the time factor to be important. Let us now turn to examine these studies.

Periodic Changes:

In one study Becker (1967) dealt with attitude change through time in relation to cultural differences. The subjects were students from the developed countries of Europe who came to the United States. The changes in their att itudes about the host country could be expressed in a "U-curve" pattern. This pattern represents at first an initial excitement and positive attitudes followed by more critical attitudes toward the host nation, and finally resulting again in more positive attitudes and reappreciation before returning home.

Among the students from underdeveloped countries just the opposite was found, that is, a "reverse U-curve" appeared. The pattern for underdeveloped countries is as follows: The initial and final phases of the sojourn would be characterized by a relatively hostile attitude toward the United States and the idealization of the home country. This is due in the initial phase to "culture shock" in the host country and in the final phase to the process of anticipatory adjustment[6]. In these two phases, expressed commitment to the home country would be high, association would be sought mainly among compatriots and communications would be influenced by the individual's negative attitudes toward the host nation. The middle phase would be marked by a relative psychological detachment from the home country and the compatriot group and by a less stereotyped and more favorable view of the United States.

A study with Indian students (Seth, 1961) emphasized the culture shock

---

(6) Here, anticipatory adjustment is used as a social psychological concept Toward the end of sojourn experience the idea of return to the homeland gains priority, so the individual's attitudes and behaviors aim to facilitate his readjustment. The visitor's negative attitudes toward the host nation in this final phase of sojourn are interpreted in this way.

and indicated adjustment difficulties in the initial phase among the Indian
students in the United States because of the great cultural differences
involved. Thus, it is possible to relate the process of attitude change
through time to the size of the cultural difference between the host country
and the sojourner's own country.

The U-shaped relationship between lenght of stay and favorability toward
the United States was also found for Turkish students by Davis (1963). He
noted that after the first year the views were less favorable, becoming
positive again after four years or more. In this study the Turkish students'
attitude change through time in the United States resembles the attitude
change on the part of students from developed countries in the above
mentioned study by Becker (1967). Namely, the initial excitement of the
visitor gives rise to positive attitudes; afterwards frustrations and daily
problems become prominent resulting in increasingly negative and critical
attitudes. When the individual is about to come back to his homeland
the positive aspects of the host country become salient again.

A study by Deutsch and Won (1963, p.118) also supported the U-curve
hypothesis. In this study subjects came to the United States from twenty-
nine countries to attend a program. Two findings of this study are important.
The sojourners who had little remaining time to return home reported much more
positive attitudes toward the host nation and indicated more favorable feelings
for sojourn experience than those who still had some more time before their
return.

In another group of subjects in the same study an early attitude change
was found supporting the U-curve hypothesis. (Deutsch and Won, 1963, p.119).
In this study a decline from a high level of satisfaction was observed in the
second week of the first month. A parallel decline was also found in the
subjects' evaluation of the United States. Various subjects indicated racial
discrimination and other discriminatory types of behavior to be the source
of this downward trend. Thus, it is possible for the individual, even in the
second week of sojourn experience, to encounter certain events that reduce
his initial excitement and optimism.

Barry's study (1966) with Thai students in the United States found
attitude differences to be related with duration of stay in the foreign
country. Besides the time factor however, attitude differences were influenced
by the factors of age, sex and financial means as well. This study showed
that the least changing attitudes were the ones related to religion. The
previously-mentioned Seth study (1961) had also had the same finding.

Dimarco (1971) presents a model as a conceptual framework to investigate
cultural stress and adaptation. The model analyzes the imbalance between
individual needs and various aspects of culture which inhibit their
expression during the transition into a foreign culture. This model
also treats the process of adjustment through time in four successive
stages: 1. Shock, 2. Defensive retreat, 3. Acknowledgement, 4. Adaptation
and change. The study within which this model is developed was conducted
with American Peace Corps trainees in Somali. The early two stages of
adjustment, shock and defensive retreat, were characterized by denial of

the imbalance between personal needs and the stress of Somali culture. When confronted with problems, the reaction was defensive behavior. The latter stages were characterized by recognition of the imbalance and by active problemsolving behaviors.

In general, when we consider the results of studies surveying attitude change through time, the U-curve appears in most of them. The internal variation of the curve, whether it is parabolic or hyperbolic and details of its shape differ from one study to another and certain exception do exist. (Day, 1969 and Smith, 1963). However, today the U-curve is accepted as a valid representation of the time effects of sojourn experience upon attitudes. (For instance, see: Selltiz and Cook, 1962 and Pool, 1966).

The U-curve hypothesis preserves its generality also from one cultural group to another. For example, Sewell et.al. (1954) and Scott (1956) observed the U-curve pattern for Scandinavian students in the United States; Coelho (1958) observed it for Indian students; Morris (1960) for students from various countries; Gullahorn and Gullahorn (1956) for American students in France. All these similar results support the validity and generality of this finding.

Depending on cultural differences, this general finding is subject to some internal variations. For example among the students who come to the host culture from similar cultures, the bottom of the U-curve is reached earlier, and the following more positive attitudes emerge more quickly. In cases where cultural differences are wider, however, the culture shock is more intense and slows down the process. (Pool, 1966).

All of the above-mentioned studies deal with the sojourner's situation during his stay in the foreign country. The U-curve is an indicator of the internal changes relevant to this situation. The plight of the individual after his return home is not dealt with in most studies. However, the kind of reaction to the host nation may be partly determined by what happens to the sojourner when he returns home. Gullahorn and Gullahorn (1963) looking at the total cross-cultural exchange experience suggested the W-curve concept instead of the currently adopted U-curve.

This kind of curve more appropriately describes the temporal patterning of individuals' reactions to foreign settings and subsequently to their own cultures. The W-curve basically comprises two U-curves. These U-curves present respectively changes in attitude or adjustment in the course of sojourn experience, and changes in adjustment after the individual returns home.

Adjustment problems following the return home have been analyzed by Gullahorn and Gullahorn especially with respect to interpersonal relations. The adjustment situation after return reflected in the second U-curve resembles the curve for adjustment in the foreign country. Namely, at first the individual is happy and excited since he has returned home. Here, the adjustment curve is high. After this initial excitement calms down, various daily problems which used to be far away begin to reappear leading to new adjustment difficulties, thus lowering the curve. At this stage the individual frequently misses his life in the foreign country. Particularly after having lived in a rich foreign country for a period of time, the

individual will meet difficulties in his poor country. In the following
stage a new adjustment is materialized owing to problem-solving or
acknowledgement, so the curve rises again.

The general patterns of U- and W-curves are shown in figures 1 and 2.

We can say that the W-curve, the total pattern including the leave and
the return, reflects the situation better. Brein and David (1971) adopt the
W-curve as a more valid descriptive tool and use this general framework in
their studies.

However, the W-curve does not appear in a great number of studies. The
reason for this is to be found in the research designs that are used. For
a W-curve to appear, both sojourn experience and experience after the return
must be totally examined in a study. But most of the time this is not possible
since better planning, more time, more money and effort are required to grasp
this total picture.

Jacobson (1963, 124-126) developed a more detailed descriptive model
for the examination of sojourn experience while remaining loyal to the
logic behind the U and W-curves. This nine-stage model starts from the
period prior to travel and continues until the end of sojourn experience.

Figure 1

The U-Curve*
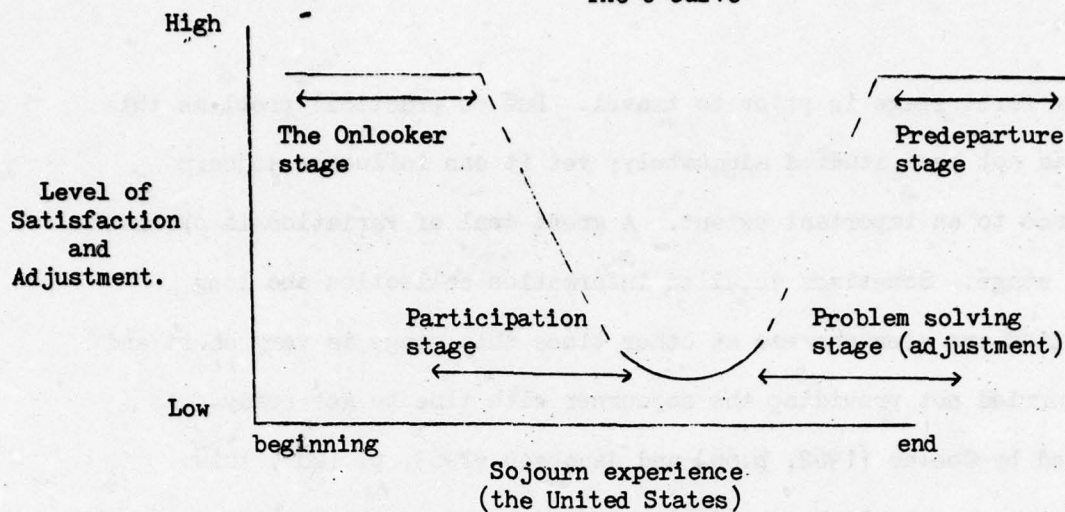
* The generalized U-curve reflects the foreigner's adjustment
  in the United States in relation to the duration of his stay
  there. Source: Lysgaard (1955).

Figure 2

The W-Curve**
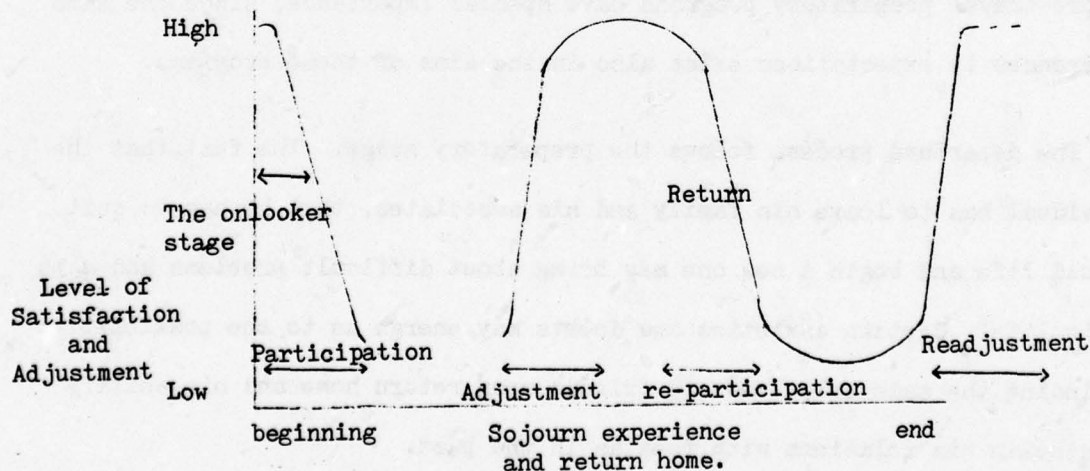
** The generalized W-curve emerges by the addition of a second
   U-curve to the U-curve in Figure 1. (Source: Lundstedt, 1963).
   (He built on the Gullahorn and Gullahorn approach, 1963).

The first stage is prior to travel. Due to practical problems this stage has not been studied adequately; yet it can influence sojourn experience to an important extent. A great deal of variation is observed in this stage. Sometimes detailed information collection and long preparation are seen whereas at other times this stage is very short and quite hurried not providing the sojourner with time to get ready. As suggested by Coelho (1962, p.66) and Jacobson (1963, p. 128), this important stage should be carefully studied by researchers and pre-travel measurements should be applied to subjects. What kind of expectations the individual's associates have about him is very important in this stage. Fleishman et.al. (1955) indicated the importance of this topic in their study investigating the efficiency of industrial education programs. If his associates want the individual to change at the end of his experience and education in the foreign country this expectation may cause the sojourn experience to affect the individual much more and vice versa. In this respect the pre-travel preparatory programs have special importance, since the same differences in expectations exist also in the aims of these programs.

The departure process follows the preparatory stage. The fact that the individual has to leave his family and his associates, that he has to quit his old life and begin a new one may bring about difficult problems and gaps in his life. Certain anxieties and doubts may emerge as to the possibility of finding the same relatives and friends upon return home and his ability to maintain his relations with them as in the past.

The third stage is the travel itself. Here, the differences emerge especially with respect to time. For instance, the effects of a flight that takes only a few hours will naturally be different upon an individual than a voyage that takes several days. Some important events in this stage may also influence the individual's later adjustment.

Entrance to the foreign country in itself becomes a factor that may influence the individual. Difficulties and especially prejudiced discrimination at the customs or in similar situations may be critical events for the individual, whose effects may last a long time.

Jacobson further divides the span of time spent in the foreign country into four stages: Preliminary preparation stage, investigation stage, temporary commitment stage, and final (full) commitment stage. In short travels all of these stages may not appear. During a long-term stay abroad however, all the stages would appear, and differences may emerge within each stage or in their patterning. Looking into these stages we typically find the following events: The foreigner who goes to a foreign country for the first time typically observes his surroundings with excitement and forms his first impressions. In the following investigation stage possible and appropriate behavior patterns are sought with the help of the first bits of information. In temporary commitment stage, the individual tests these various behavior patterns that he has discovered. In the final commitment stage the definite and the most appropriate behavior patterns settles in. This is a permanent devision and application phase. According to Jacobson, the adjustment phase that is generally studied in sojourn research start at

this point (Jacobson, 1963, p. 124).

After these comes the last stage: "Decision about the extra travel". At an important point of sojourn experience the individual usually has to decide as to whether he should go on with the trip or stay where he is. Most of the time this decision assumes importance during the final commitment stage Psychologically, staying where he is is a possible alternative; if he decides to continue the travel, even in terms of returning home, this means that the nine-stage process will begin again.

Jacobson's nine-stage approach represents the sojourn experience totally from the beginning to the end. But this approach is mainly a good description In order for this taxonomy to have explanatory and predictive value, the stages should be examined in detail in terms of attitude change. The existence and importance of these stages for the individual would be varified only when important differences are demonstrated among them with respect to the development and change of the individuals' attitudes and general outlook.

It could not be claimed that the U or the W-curves or similar curves comprising ups and downs reflect all the findings as regards sojourn experience. They are generalized empirical curves. Curves different from these may be more appropriate in certain states of adjustment to a foreign country. For instance, a linear development may reflect some adjustment situations better than a curve with ups and downs. (Smith, 1963; Day, 1969).

Moreover, curves depicting general states of adjustment and nonadjustment may also be different. With the abstraction of carefully-developed empirical

curves in greater number of studies, more reliable and valid theoretical curves may be obtained. These curves may help to resolve the kind of problems mentioned above. At present a generalization can perhaps be made in the following way: It may be that the U or the W-curves with excessively sharp ups and downs reflect a less successful adjustment than softer trends. A linear development may depict a more active adjustment (Lundstedt, 1963). This kind of a linear development may reflect adjusted participation in the new environment; on the other hand, it may also reflect a superficial adjustment picture, as well. Detailed information is necessary inorder to distinguish between the two.

The Endurance of Attitude Change and Other Problems:

A further problem related to attitude change is its degree of endurance after the individual departs from the foreign country. The sojourner's attitude toward the foreign country where he lived may change after he returns home. The studies examining the changes that occur after return are few in number due to practical difficulties of extending research beyond the sojourn period.

Selltiz and Cook (1962) and Sewell et.al. (1954) observed that the foreign country seemed "better" to the subjects after return home. As time passes, the negative aspects of sojourn experience are forgotten and only the positive aspects are remembered. Various problems of daily life in the foreign country are obscured with time, and in turn the daily problems which the individual encounters in his own country become more salient.

However, this change in attitudes need not always be in the positive direction. Riegel (1953), in his study with Belgian scholarship students returning from the United States showed that the recent comers had more positive attitudes toward the United States than those who had returned some time before. According to this finding, the positive attitudes the individual has about the foreign country just after his return home change in time and resemble the attitudes of other people surrounding the individual.

Likewise, other researchers have called attention to the important role of the general attitudes that exist in the individual's nation about the host country in influencing the returned sojourner's attitudes. (For instance, Useem and Useem, 1955 and Bennett et.al., 1958). If there exists a general negative attitude toward the country the individual has visited, then he will not want to sound very positive about that country. He may even develop negative attitudes toward that country to solidify his business and friendship relations.

Watson and Lippitt (1955) examined various other attitudes of students who returned home. Among these were worldview, democratic values, hopes for certain changes in his country, and belief in the possibility of realizing these changes. It was seen that a group which showed important positive attitude change on these issues when they were in the United States readopted the attitudes they had prior to sojourn experience a few months after their return home. On the other hand, a group which stayed in the United States for a shorter period and which showed less attitude change there was observed to go through greater attitude change in the same direction after returning home.

According to these findings, the most efficient situation in terms of
attitude change appears to be a period of sojourn experience which is
long enough to shake old beliefs and attitudes and yet not so long as to
mold and freeze the new attitudes. In this situation the individual has
the opportunity to reconsider and evaluate his new beliefs, that are not
frozen abroad in an environment (his own country) where he can apply them.
The new beliefs and attitudes that pass through this kind of a realistic
evaluation will be stronger and permanent.

Thus, most of the studies on sojourn experience deal with attitude
change through time. Together with important findings, there are also
information gaps stemming particularly from inadequate research design.
Before-after design comparing outlooks before and after sojourn experience
is best suited to examine attitude change

PERSONALITY FACTORS

In some studies the influence of sojourn experience upon the individual
has been examined in terms of personality factors. According to this approach,
how the person is affected by cross-cultural contacts is to a great extent
a function of who he was to start out with. This is only reasonable, however,
as we know from the studies mentioned previously, the effects of sojourn
experience are multidimentional. Hence, considering a single factor while
overlooking others may not give us the most correct findings.

We find, in fact, in studies examining personality factors, also, these
factors are considered in relation to other factors such as cultural differences.

Seward and Williamson (1969) for example, compared young people from various cultures with one another in terms of motivations. Important differences were found among the aims of the students coming from Eastern and Western Germany, Chile, Poland and Turkey with respect to the occupations they have selected. Scheiner (1969), on the other hand, examined how the culturally-bound personality characteristics of students from the Near East and Japan affected their perception of others. Here, too, personality factors are considered in relation to cultural differences.

Motivation and Prejudice:

In studies in which personality factors assume prominance, it is accepted that the foreigner begins his sojourn experience with some definite prejudice and motivations and that these can be modified by his new experiences. For example, as shown in Kelman's study (1962), staying in a country forms a potential for developing positive attitudes toward that country. In getting to know the new country and its people the foreign visitor acquires new knowledge day by day, which may help correct his previous ill-founded stereotypes and prejudice about that country. The foreigner may come to recognize the people of that country which he visits and may establish close personal contacts with them, thus developing personal ties toward that country. Furthermore, having stayed in that country for a long time and having suffered there may be factors condusive to the development of positive attitudes[7].

---

(7) This expectation is based upon the theory of "cognitive dissonance" first proposed by Festinger (1957). The expectation here is that the individual wants to believe that he did not spend all the time and effort in another country in vain. Hence, he would develop positive attitudes toward the country which he visited and where he stayed for a while.

However, the individual who starts out with a strong negative attitude or prejudice toward the country he is about to visit may keep his negative attitude intact when he goes there. In order to keep his existing attitudes, he may resort to "selective perception" in the form of observing those events that confirm his prejudices and overlooking those that do not confirm them. He is open to information which fits into his prejudices and closed to that which runs counter to them, or he interprets this new information in accordance with his prejudices. In this way, the individual deprives himself of the opportunity to change his first negative attitudes,

Another way to achieve this result is for the individual to regulate his interpersonal behavioral contacts so as to verify his own prejudices. That is to say, the individual can acquire such a social milieu that the people in this milieu may be personalities that fit into his previously obtained prejudices and stereotypes. (Newcomb, 1963). Or the individual behaves negatively toward the surrounding people since he assumes that they have the negative stereotypic characteristics which fit into his own prejudices. Thus, he induces the people around him to behave negatively toward him also. As a result his initial prejudices are intensified by this kind of "autistic" interpersonal relations, creating a "self-fulfilling prophecy".

Why is such an individual open to negative information and closed to to positive information about the country he visits? Bailyn and Kelman (1962) in a study with Scandinavian students in the United States found the answer to this question in the relationship of the individual to his own country. Specifically, the more positive information the individual gathers about the host country the more likely is he to wish to stay in that country

As such a situation endangers his return to his homeland, the individual may want to see the negative features of the host country. This kind of a defensive mechanism may be observed particularly in foreigners coming from a poor country to a rich one, since for them there is greater temptation to stay in the rich country. We can, thus, understand the particular motivation underlying selective perception.

Making these observations Kelman (1962) reached the following conclusion: If sojourn experience provides the individual with new information about the host country within the framework of positive relationships with the people of this country, then it will increase the possibility that the individual develops positive attitudes toward that country.

Various Personality Characteristics:

Among research stressing personality factors Leonard's study (1964) with 85 students who lived abroad for one year showed that the students became more liberal, and this change was more salient for the more conservative ones. The age factor was also an important one, more change being observed in students over 21 years of age.

Perlman (1970) dealt with the concept of psycho-social modernity examining it as a personal characteristic. Psycho-social modernity examined in a great deal of research, comprises certain characteristics; individuals who shows these characteristics are considered to be modern and those showing the opposite tendencies are called traditional (see for example, Smith and Inkeles, 1966; Doob, 1967; Triandis, 1971, Kagitçibaşi, 1972 and 1973).

The modern individual believes that ~he can control his environment; he is exposed to the mass media; he is interested in political and international problems; he is not dependent on his relatives; he believes in the principle of equality in family life; he values change and time; he prefers urban life to rural life; he is open to novelties; he values education and science, etc. (Perlman 1970). This study tested and supported the hypothesis that in the United States, which is a developed country, the individual with a modern inclination would have easier adjustment.

Perhaps the most important positive effect of sojourn experience resulting from a good educational program is to increase the individual's self-confidence. The individual begins to rely upon his own opinions in various problem solving situations and in understanding and evaluating others since he has already tested himself and proven has proven to be successful in a different socio-cultural setting. We see that this important point is emphasized in research. (For example, Blickenstaff, 1960 and Coelho, 1962).

One could expect that as a result of positive sojourn experience, together with an increase in confidence, there would be a decrease in dogmatic and authoritarian attitudes, dispersed defense mechanisms, mistrust in others, alienation and retreat into oneself (Coelho, 1962, p. 62).

In a number of studies personality factors are examined in relation to other factors. For example Dimarco (1971) and Day (1969) who studied mainly attitude change through time also dwelled upon problems related to personality.

In most of the studies examining the effects of sojourn experience more

than one factor are used. Despite this fact, as Brein and David (1971) point out, there is a lack of common ground among the various approaches that would lead them to complement one another in understanding adjustment to the foreign country. In addition, Brein and David (1971) observe that among the various factors examined, it is the interpersonal relations, background and situational factors rather than social behavior patterns and personality characteristics that contribute more to our understanding of adjustment to the foreign country.

The effects of various factors upon adjustment to the foreign country may be related to the degree to which they render cross-cultural personal communication easy or difficult. Thus, cross-cultural communication emerges as a basic unifying factor which helps us understand adjustment throughout the sojourn experience. (Brein and David, 1971).

Here, of course, the importance of language cannot be overlooked. Deutsch and Won (1963) found an important relationship between the degree of the foreigners' knowledge of English and their general adjustment in the United States. In this study it was seen that the ability to communicate affected both the extent of social relations formed by the foreigner and the development of his positive attitudes. It was seen that those who knew English best were the ones most content with their life in the foreign country.

Morris (9160) had also emphasized the importance of language previously. In his study also a positive correlation was found between good knowledge of the foreign language and the general level of adjustment.

Perception of one's Self and Country:

The individual's perception of himself and of his homeland have been considered to be parallel concepts. (Mishler, 1966; Pool, 1966). Contact with a different culture usually results in greater insight into oneself. Many studies (for example Smith, 1954; Useem and Useem, 1955; Pool, 1958; Isaacs, 1961; Bauer et.al. and Veroff, 1963) showed that as a result of sojourn experience the individual understands and appreciates his country better as well as becoming more strongly attached to the value judgments of his own culture. The individual who sees himself as the representative of his country abroad may influence himself in the process of defending his own country's stand on various issues.

What is the effect of the individual's perception of himself and his country upon sojourn experience? In a study with Scandinavian students in the United States Kelman and Bailyn (1962) established two different general reaction patterns to sojourn experience. The first pattern was seen more frequently among professionals or others already established in their own countries. Such an individual feels attached and committed to his country even though he may have some misgivings about his country's politics, government, etc. He is closed to life in the United States and may even refrain from getting into close personal relations with Americans.

The second pattern, however, is seen more frequently for younger persons with less established positions in their county. In this case the individual becomes both more conscious of the negative aspects of his country and at the same time can understand and appreciate its positive aspects. The

adjustment of such a person to the foreign country takes longer but develops in depth, and his life in the foreign country as well as his interpersonal relations become more meaningful. Kelman and Bailyn assert that this second pattern reflects on the one hand the tendency to criticize and to develop insight into oneself, and on the other hand the tendency to be open to new experiences in the foreign country.

The relationship between the individual's attitude toward his homeland and his attitude toward the foreign country has also been a topic of study. Bennett et.al. (1958) and Becker (1967) found these two attitudes to be the opposite of one another. Coelho (1958) and Selltiz and Cook (1962, p.21) on the other hand, showed that they are parallel to each other. In the latter case the individual would hold positive attitudes both toward his own country and toward the host country.

The former case of conflicting attitudes toward home and host countries would appear to be more plausible, on the basis of research mentioned above. Nevertheless, it is possible to understand the latter research findings in terms of a personality approach. That is to say, an attitude toward a country may be a symptom or reflection of the individual's general adjustment to life; thus it might be expected that an individual who shows positive adjustment would have positive attitudes toward both countries. In other words, in period of hopelessness and maladjustment when personal problems are salient, the individual is alienated from both his own society and the host society. In the opposite case of adequate adjustment, however, he is close to both societies.

Thus, the individual's relationship to his own country may affect his mode of approach to a foreign country and its people. In modern differentiated societies the individual participates in and is committed to various aspects of his society in varying degrees. At the same time he may like certain characteristics of his society and may dislike others. These complex patterns may also differentiate the quality of contacts the individual establishes when he is abroad. (Mishler, 1966, p. 557).

To summarize, the literature on sojourn experience includes research which deals with four main topics. These topics are the quality of sojourn experience, cultural differences, attitude change through time, and personality factors. We see that in most of the studies these topics are examined in relation to one another. Furthermore, the basic aim of studying these topical issues appears to be to develop an understanding of attitude change and adjustment problems.

All these studies show that the influence of sojourn experience upon the individual's adjustment and attitudes is multidimensional. What kind of a personality the individual has; with which prejudices and motivations he starts out with; cultural differences; interpersonal relations and other characteristics of sojourn experience together with the particular stage of this experience in which the individual is to be found are all factors which influence adjustment and development of attitudes through sojourn.

THE TURKISH AFS STUDY

A study was conducted by the author to assess various effects of sojourn experience on the attitudes and world view of young Turkish students who spent a school year in the U.S. through the American Field Service (AFS) exchange program.

As explained in the previous survey of literature, a general shortcoming of most research on cross-national contacts is that the assessment of the sojourner's attitudes is obtained at only one point in time, usually while he is in the foreign country. Accounts of what he had been like before he he left his home country or after he returned there are largely absent in the literature. Thus, it is often not clear in these studies whether any changes do, in fact, occur and what their underlying causal factors are. Furthermore, as control groups are generally not used in these studies, it is also often not clear whether the changes that do occur are due to cross-national contacts or to the mere passage of time. The Turkish AFS study aimed to clarify and overcome some of these problems of interpretation.

The above objective was realized by a) using a before-after research design, b) repeating the study for a second year of exchange students, c) conducting a follow-up study and d) using control groups. In the main study the experimental group consisted of last year Turkish high school students spending the school year in the U.S. (AFS'ers). The control group was matched with the experimental group in every respect except for sojourn experience. The follow-up was done in the third year, one year after the second year AFS'ers and two years after the first year AFS'ers returned home.

The control group in the follow-up study was a matched group of university students in Turkey.

A detailed questionnaire was used to assess various psychological and background variables. In the main study it was administered twice each year immediately before the AFS'ers left for the U.S. and right after they returned. The administration to the control groups was done at the same times.

The following psychological concepts were assessed by the use of scales most of which had been validated and tested for reliability in previous research (Kagitçibaşi, 1970 and 1973): authoritarianism; patriotism; anomia[8]; religious ideology; achievement values; optimism/pessimism about personal future; belief in internal/external control of reinforcement[9]; self concept; perceived family affection; perceived family control; respect and loyalty to parents; worldmindedness; financial and vocational aspirations and expectations.

In addition to the above scales, background questions were also asked. In the "return" questionnaire administered to the experimental group information was obtained about sojourn experience together with general subjective evaluation of the school year abroad.

In this study sojourn was considered to be a special type of cross-national encounter producing significant attitude change in the individual.

---

(8) Anomia reflects a psychological state characterized by hopelessness and breakdown of the individual's sense of attachment to society (Srole, 1956; Riesman, 1950).

(9) Belief in internal control of reinforcement after Rotter (1966) reflects a tendency to assume full responsibility for one's actions and lot in life contrasted with a tendency to attribute this responsibility to an outside agent, such as God, fate, other people, which indicates belief in external control of reinforcement.

Thus, our hypotheses predicted greater change in some of the above mentioned attitudes and psychological traits on the part of the experimental group as compared with the control group. Specifically, it was hypothesized that the experimental group would show increased worldmindedness; decreased authoritarianism; increased belief in internal control of reinforcement; decreased religiosity; and increased achievement motivation compared with the control group.

Main Results:

A first general result of the Turkish AFS study was the demonstration that cross-cultural contacts formed during sojourn do, in fact, have a significant and lasting impact on some basic attitudes of the late adolescents. This is an important result in view of the fact that enduring change in basic attitudes is difficult to produce (e.g. Howland, 1959; Festinger and Maccoby, 1964; McGuire, 1967).

As a result of comparison with the control groups, the following changes were demonstrated in the experimental groups of both years: An increase in worldmindedness and a decrease in authoritarianism and religiosity. These findings point to the modifiability of some early established attitudes as a result of a secondary socialization process in a foreign country.

Adjustment to a different culture requires tolerance, flexibility and open-mindedness, characteristics that do not fit with authoritarian tendencies Thus any such tendencies that our subjects might have had, were affected adversely by positive sojourn adjustment (also noted by Coelho, 1962; Barry, 1966; and Leonard, 1964).

Authoritarianism is conceptualized by Adorno, et al. (1950) to develop out of early intra-family dynamics and to form a basic part of the personality structure. For sojourn experience to modify such an established attitude, it must, indeed, involve significant meaning for the sojourner.

Both years' results clearly show the positive effect of sojourn experience on worldmindedness. When we compare this result with some contradictory research results (e.g. Veroff, 1963; Lambert and Bressler, 1956), the favorableness of sojourn experience appears to be a key factor here. If the sojourner feels accepted, as was the case with our subjects, he has less need to cling to his own national identity, and he tends to accept others who are different from himself more readily. These tendencies logically lead to a more internationalist outlook, undermining the significance of national boundaries and differences.

The finding that sojourn experience affects worldmindedness and authoritarianism in opposite directions seems logical in the light of earlier research results showing a negative relationship between these two attitudinal variables (e.g. Levinson, 1957; Smith and Rosen, 1958; Mac Kinnon and Centers, 1956 and Christiansen, 1959).

Religiosity which indicates an outlook on life based on religious beliefs and contradicts a scientific, positivistic outlook is adversely affected by favorable sojour experience. It is logical for religiosity and authoritarianism to be affected in the same way by favorable sojourn experience as these two attitudinal variables have been found to relate positively to each other (Kagitçibaşi, 1973).

The increase in worldmindedness and the decrease in authoritarianism
and religiosity, which are demonstrated in both years' results can be considered
the most distinct findings of the Turkish AFS study. In the follow-up study
the experimental subjects in fact indicated an awareness of such changes in
themselves in response to an open-ended question about the lasting effects
of sojourn.

Some other attitudinal changes were also demonstrated, but these reached
significance in only one year rather than in both years' results (in the other
year their results were again in the expected direction). These were increases
in belief in internal control of reinforcement and in perceived family control.

In a foreign country the individual cannot depend on others the way he
is used to at home. Thus, he cannot attribute responsibility to others for
what happens to him but is forced to take this responsibility unto himself.
This should also relate to an increased sense of self-reliance and efficacy,
found in some research to result from sojourn experience (e.g. Bailyn and
Kelman, 1962, p. 39-40; Coelho, 1962, p. 60-61; Smith, 1969, p. 266-268;
and Blickenstaff, 1960).

A negative relationship has been found in previous research between
authoritarianism and belief in internal control of reinforcement (Kagitçibaşi,
1972). Thus, after a favorable sojourn experience which decreases
authoritarian tendencies and increases belief in internal control of
reinforcement, the individual tends to be less fatalistic and more self
reliant. The increase in internal control of reinforcement is also in line
with the before-mentioned decrease in religiosity, as these attitudes have

been found to relate negatively to each other (Kagitçibaşi, 1973).

In perceived family control we see an increase in the first year's experimental group. On the basis of previous research (Kagitçibaşi, 1970) showing the presence of greater control in the Turkish family compared with the American family this result seems logical. It shows that on returning home from the U.S., the experimental subjects perceived greater control in their own homes compared with their host (U.S.) homes.

A second general result of the Turkish AFS study pertains to the cause of the obtained attitude changes. The experimental groups' evaluations of their own experiences in the U.S. and of their immediate environments there are very distinctly positive. This result, obtained by answers to various detailed items in the follow-up study shows that our experimental subjects were accepted by their hosts on equal terms, that they felt as a part of the communities they lived in and freely participated in their activities. This kind of an altogether favorable environment is consistently found in sojourn research to be conducive to healthy personality development. (Selltiz and Cook, 1962, p. 18; Kelman, 1962, p. 76-77; Gezi, 1965; Antler, 1970; Becker, 1967; Hofman and Zak, 1969). Thus, the results mentioned before should be viewed within this kind of a framework. Such a favorable environment produces positive attitude change in the sojourner mainly because the sojourner feels accepted and does not feel status deprivation. He, therefore, does not feel the need to be defensive. He can, thus, open himself up to new experiences and learns from them. This makes possible, in other words, a thorough secondary socialization that may be effective in changing some

existing personality tendencies, as we have noted in the results.

A third general result of the study was that in some attitudes and in self concept no clear cut effects of cross-national contacts were observed. These unaffected attitudes or personality characteristics are anomia, optimism about personal future, vocational and financial aspirations and perceived family affection.

No change had been expected in perceived family affection as previous research had demonstrated no difference in perceived family affection between urban American and Turkish families. Similarly, "self concept" operationalized by the ordering of various self-descriptive adjectives was not found to be affected much by living abroad. However, one characteristic, namely, religion was found to lose importance in self-description in both years' experimental groups. This finding fits in with the decrease of religiosity mentioned previously. Nationality was also found to decrease in importance in defining the self in the second year's experimental group, a finding in accordance with the increase in worldmindedness, also noted before.

A fourth result of the study is the demonstration of certain attitude changes which are independent of sojourn and which may be understood in terms of an age trend. Specifically in both the experimental and the control groups we find an unexpected reduction in achievement motivation and in patriotism.

The use of control groups prevented us from erroneously attributing the

reduction in achievement motivation and in patriotism to sojourn experience. For achievement motivation this general decrease in all groups could be explained in terms of an age trend of increased cynicism and/or an end-of-the-year fatigue symptom. For patriotism the reason may be again an increased cynicism and/or one year's fading of the effects of secondary school socialization of nationalism/patriotism.

A fifth result of the study is the demonstration that the obtained effects of sojourn are lasting effects. The follow-up study showed especially increased world-mindedness and internal-control of reinforcement to be long- lasting changes. Some delayed effects were also apparent in the later development of optimism and achievement values.

The above findings are more understandable in the light of the follow-up study reports showing a generally positive evaluation of sojourn experience and the continuation of close, meaningful interpersonal relations following sojourn. From the subjects' spontaneous responses to some open-ended questions in the follow-up questionnaire, it is clear that they also are aware of the continuous nature of the changes in themselves. Furthermore they attribute this to the meaningfulness of their sojourn experience.

A related result is that in a year or two after returning home the subjects' evaluation of their sojourn is not much different from their evaluation immediately on their return. This is generally a positive evaluation pointing to close interpersonal relations formed abroad. As indicated before, much sojourn research emphasized the importance of close interpersonal relations for adjustment and positive growth. Furthermore,

from the follow-up results we learn that these interpersonal ties are reportedly continuing after sojourn, and are expected to continue for a long time. This is a significant finding for long term effects of sojourn experience, as also noted by Kelman (1962, p. 76-78 and 1966, p. 572-579), Selltiz and Cook (1962, p. 18-19) and Mishler (1966, p. 557-559).

Even though our subjects' evaluation of their sojourn was highly favorable, there is no indication of admiration for the U.S. either on returning home or one or two years after sojourn. In both cases their attitudes toward the U.S. are moderate rather than highly favorable or unfavorable, a result similar to others obtained before (Riegel, 1953; Selltiz, 1956; Lysgaard, 1955). It may, thus, be concluded that favorable evaluation of sojourn experience in a country does not guarantee favorable evaluation or admiration of that country as a whole because individuals differentiate between their subjective experiences and the wider objective context.

A final general result of the study is that a readjustment process does, in fact, take place after returning home. As reported by the subjects, this new adjustment reaches an optimum level in one year after return. It is also found, however, that our subjects did not experience severe culture shock on their return, and that readjustment process started from a moderate level. This process of readjustment took the form of a negatively accelerated curve quite similar to the second portion of the theoretical W-curve proposed by Gullahorn and Gullahorn (1963), Jacobson (1963), and Brein and David (1971). This finding gives us some insight into post-sojourn adjustment, which is

not much studied in sojourn research.

The Turkish AFS study, thus, shows that cross-national encounters during late adolescence can produce significant and enduring attitude changes. These changes can be attributed to the favorable nature of sojourn experience and appear to take the form of a general positive personal growth. From this perspective, sojourn experience involving cross-national contacts can be considered to be an important process of secondary socialization.

The Turkish AFS study shares with other sojourn research certain common points of emphasis which provide us with a better understanding of sojourn experience. Of main importance is the favorable nature of sojourn in terms of being accepted, at an equal level, by the hosts. We will touch upon this point again in discussing the case of the American military men abroad.

AMERICANS ABROAD

Our survey of literature shows that most research on sojourn has been conducted by American social scientists in the U.S., mainly using foreign sojourners as subjects. Studies of American sojourners abroad are fewer in number, and the few that have been conducted have focussed on the adjustment of the individual rather than the family (e.g. Pool, 1958; Smith Fawcett, Ezekiel and Roth, 1963; Lundstedt, 1963; Ezekiel, 1968; Smith, 1969; Hofman and Zak, 1969; Dimarco, 1971; Anderson, 1971; and David, 1971). These studies mainly investigate the personality and situational determinants of adjustment and attitude change among young sojourners, who are generally students, campers or peace-corps volunteers. Few exceptions are the study

of American scholars in a summer of work in India (Anderson, 1971) and of American service men in four different Far Eastern countries (David, 1971).

In the literature survey some of the above research conducted with American sojourners have been covered. To point to some basic findings, Hofman and Zak (1969) emphasized the importance of the amount of contact with the hosts for favorable attitude change toward the host nation among a group of American Jewish high school students spending a summer in an Israeli camp.

On the other hand, David's (1971) findings with American service men in four Far East countries failed to support the simple contact hypothesis in that contact, per se, did not result in more favorable attitudes toward the hosts. Other research, both dealing with sojourn and not, also point to the inadequacy of the simple contact hypothesis in understanding inter- group conflict resolution. We will deal with this point further later. David found, instead, that the most important factor determining attitudes toward the cultural groups was the international stance of one's home country attitudes being consistent with political alignments.

In an attempt to understand the factors underlying competence in the Peace Corps, Smith (1969) noted that authoritarianism or psychiatrists' "mental health" ratings proved to be poor predictors of Peace Corps competence. As Ezekiel (1968) later reported, personal future time perspective was a better predictor. Specifically, the differentiation (complexity and depth) of one's perception of his future; the extent to

which one sees oneself as the prime agent in shaping his future; and the
perceived demandingness of the future are important aspects of the personal
future. The total personal future scope correlated with overall performance
($r = 41$, $p < .01$). Furthermore, as could also be derived from the future
time perspectives, a sense of commitment was found to be the key factor for
competence. In Smith's words, "It was this high degree of committed but
disinterested investment in a challenging undertaking that was so auspicious
for psychological change in the direction of maturity. Experiences from which
the self is held in reserve do not change the self; profit in growth requires
its investment" (1969, p. 208).

These last statements refer to a very particular type of sojourn experience
characterized by volunteered commitment on the part of idealistic youth. The
sojourn of the American military men and their families abroad is quite
different. What assumes importance in the latter is adjustment to living
in a foreign country while one is doing one's familiar work in the regular
work environment of the military. This is a situation unlike that of the
peace corps voluteer trying to meet the challenges of often very difficult
novel work demands in a drastically different cultural setting .. an impact
so powerful that it can produce personality change.

We will now focus on the nature of sojourn that is more or less typical
of the service men and their families abroad. First a descriptive account
of this particular type of sojourn will be given. Then some specific issues
and problems will be discussed, to be followed by ideas about ways of dealing
with these problems.

Nature of Sojourn:

Typically the life of the service men and their families abroad is quite well protected and isolated from the mainstream of the life of the host country in which they live. Foreign troops with some exceptions such as military government officers usually do not feel the need to develop a better understanding of the host country because of the temporary nature of their sojourn. Often they are almost at home away from home, living in special communities or bases is olated from the host population. Their responsibilities are almost entirely to their fellow nationals rather than to the citizens of the host country. The duration of the overseas assignment and its various characteristics may appear quite unattractive to the soldiers so that they may eagerly look forward to returning home.

The service men in this kind of a situation usually are not very positively disposed toward the host nation. This is because they do not feel any commitment to it; they are outside of it, isolated from the host nationals and having only the most superficial contacts with them. The temporary nature of their term only intensifies their feelings of detachment and alienation from the host nation. Furthermore, they may feel rejected by the citizens of the host nation, in turn. This perceived rejection may, on the one hand, reflect the objective situation, or on the other hand, it may be an attribution of negative intent upon others. In the latter case it may be a mechanism of self justification or a projection of one's own feelings.

This altogether negative picture is not, of course, invariable. In

fact, often only some of the above characteristics or symptoms may exist
in the absence of others. However, here they are put together to emphasize
the problem.

When the service men are stationed overseas not alone but with their
families, this picture changes somewhat but not entirely. If the whole
family lives in the military base, as is usually the case, the problem of
isolation from the host nationals would be about the same as for the single
man. However, here the family provides a distinct shelter for the individual
which the single soldier lacks. This sheltering has various implications for
contact with the hosts or the lack of it.

The family providing security and love for the individual would contribute
to his self-reliance, self-acceptance and general psychological well being.
This would create a psychological outlook characterized less by defensive
reactions or retreat and more by openness to new experiences and interpersonal
contacts. This would in turn increase the probability of forming close
interpersonal relations with the citizens of the host country. On the other
hand, the same sheltering and supportive function of the family may counteract
the above effect and may adversely influence the formation of interpersonal
ties with the hosts. The individual who finds love, acceptance, entertainment
and happiness in his own family, would have less need to search for these
satisfactions in new interpersonal contacts. Thus, he might live in isolation
from the host culture without much motivation to change his style of life.

From the point of view of the host citizens, the military sojourner

is an uninvited guest. For this reason, they may not even take the role of
the host and thus may not feel any responsibility for showing hospitality.
Among the western European citizens the above reaction may be especially
widespread as those areas are saturated with foreign tourists and other
visitors such that foreigners are no novelty. When we add to these the
historically high cultural pride and prestige that Europeans enjoy and
feel endorsed all over the world, it can be understood why they consider
the military sojourner, and in fact any sojourner, an intruder and may reject
him and even look down upon him.

Furthermore, the American service men just because they are in the
military, represent something that goes much beyond their individual existence
in the foreign country. They represent a world military power which, even
though allied, is overpowering and, therefore, probably unattractive for
the host citizen.

There are again many exceptions to the bleak picture drawn above.
Nevertheless, it is probably helpful to be aware of the unfavorable nature
of the setting, in order to understand the resulting problems and to deal with
them.

In the previous literature survey we examined some of the key issues
in sojourn research. We can now consider the same issues for the special
case of the service men and their families.

Sojourn as a Learning Process:

Research has considered sojourn basically as a learning process where some unlearning of old habits and expectations; and learning new ones occur. This process is considered to be basic to adequate adjustment and positive attitude change.

As we have seen in the above description of the nature of the military sojourn, the military sojourner typically does not have much opportunity for this type of learning process. His almost complete isolation from the host culture; his total responsibility to his fellow nationals; the family support and protection that he can fall back on; the lack of a need for participation in and commitment to the host nation and its culture; the lack of extensive contact with the citizens of the host country; the temporary and involuntary nature of the sojourn allhave *adverse effects here*. Due to these reasons the sojourning service man has less access to and is also less motivated to go through this new learning process. In other words, as the sojourning service man is not really living the daily life of the country in which he is stationed, he does not have to learn how to live in it.

How about the family of the service man? Most of what have been said above about the service man, himself, are also true of his family. However, his wife is in a somewhat different position as she is typically not employed and is not here maily to carry out her job or profession. Thus she has more free time and if she had the access, she could go through some relearning process. But here, the lack of opportunities typically prevents her from actualizing it. The school age children of the family, as they typically attend the special community school of the military base, are not

in a much different position from their father, either.

Obviously, if the family is living in the midst of host nation families and if the children attend the local schools, the situation is entirely different. In this case the main problem is not the lack of contact, but as we will consider later on, the type of contact.

Interpersonal Relations:

As we saw in the description of the natureof sojourn, the military sojourner and his family have very little opportunity for forming close interpersonal relations with citizens of the host country. In this respect, also, the unemployed wife has more time and chance for such contacts through shopping, cite seeing, social activities and volunteer work. If most such activity takes place within the military community, however, her opportunities would not be much greater than her husband's. The same applies to the children in terms of whether or not their school and play environment is inside or outside of the military base community.

In the ideal case of living in the city, using the city shopping, entertainment facilities and schools the number of contacts would obviously increase. However again whether these contacts involve formation of close friendships becomes important. As we see from sojourn literature, the closeness of interpersonal ties is the key issue in adjustment (Selltiz and Cook, 1963; Gezi, 1965; Hofman and Zak, 1969; and the present Turkish AFS Study).

In this respect, we should also recognize the fact that the very existence

of a military community of fellow nationals serves as a competition to (and thus interferes with) the formation of close interpersonal ties with the hosts, which requires extra effort. Of relevance here are Becker's (1967) and Antler's (1970) findings that the amount of personal contacts with own countrymen is negatively associated with sojourn adjustment.

Living Conditions:

At the very core of the above discussions is the ecology of the service man's and his family's living and working conditions. As explained before, the isolation and self-sufficient nature of the military community is a key facilitating factor for contacts with fellow nationals and an inhibitor of contacts with the hosts.

In situations where the military personnel and their families live in the city this negative influence of ecology is much reduced but it still exists. In this kind of a more favorable situation the ecological isolation exists in the context of work, special military shopping quarters and community schools , if such exist. Obviously, the more the variety of city services used, the greater is the sharing of ecology with the citizens of the host country. The latter situation, in turn, automatically increases the likehood of new and profound learning processes and the formation of close interpersonal contacts.

Cultural Differences:

We have seen in the survey of literature that much sojourn research is concerned with the great cultural variations and national/personal status differences between the sojourners and the hosts. This issue becomes especially

significant in the adjustment of the individual from an underdeveloped country sojourning in a developed country.

For the American military personnel and their families in Europe we may expect this issue not to assume great significance. This is because profound cultural variations and great status differences do not exist between Europe and the U.S. However, as mentioned before, the traditional pride and sensitivity to "intrusion" of the European hosts may present some problems for the American military sojourners and their families. Certain stereotypes and prejudices that may exist on both sides would intensify any antagonisms that may occur as a result of unfavorable contact.

Attitude Change Through Time:

Given the above mentioned basic similarities in culture and development between the U.S. and Europe, we can expect the attitudes toward the host nation of the American sojourners to assume a U-curve pattern, as found in some research (e.g. Becker, 1967; Davis, 1963; Deutsch and Won, 1963; Gullahorn and Gullahorn, 1956). This pattern is characterized by an initial enthusiasm and favorable attitues toward the host nation, followed by some more critical evaluation, finally resulting in reappreciation before returning home. This pattern is typically found among sojourners from developed countries in the U.S.

However, when we consider the fact that the military sojourners have typically not voluteered to be stationed overseas, we can not be certain that the U-curve pattern will obtain. For some of them for whom being stationed oversees is just a part of their jobs to be tolerated and endured

the typical emotional curves of adjustment and attitude variation may be
inapplicable. Other exceptions to the general U-curve have also been
noted (Smith, 1963; Day, 1969). Research specifically dealing with this
issue needs to be conducted with American military personnel and their
families to learn about their patterns of adjustment and attitude change.

Personality, Images and Prejudice:

The personality make-up of the persons involved in sojourn is obviously
of great significance in adjustment. Among personality characteristics,
mainly psycho-social modernity, authoritarianism, religiosity and dogmatism
have been examined (e.g. Coelho, 1962; Seth, 1961; Barry, 1966; Kagitçibaşi,
AFS study).

Especially authoritarianism, dogmatism, prejudice and ethnocentrism
appear to be highly interrelated and organized attitudes of key significance
in understanding a generally negative and closed-minded reaction to sojourn.

Scott (1966) notes that "generalized xenophobic attitudes tend to be
associated with feelings of threat from the international environment and
also with the advocacy of international policies that are competitively,
rather than cooperatively, oriented. There is also some evidence that
generalized threat-oriented image contents may be found most frequently
among poorly informed, insecure, and personally aggressive individuals"
(p.100). A person who has this kind of a general outlook on life is not
likely to achieve good adjustment and to show positive attitude change
during sojourn. Analysis at the level of personality is needed to develop
insights into such problems having their roots in the individual

psychodynamics rather than in the *ecology of the setting or interpersonal relations.*

FACILITATING ADJUSTMENT AND ATTITUDE CHANGE

Having examined various factors playing a role in the process of adjustment and the numerous problems involved we are in a position now to suggest ways of reducing problems and facilitating adjustment and positive attitude change. Sojourn research points to problems but does not specifically deal with this practical issue of alleviating the problems. Some applied research that has a bearing on this point has been conducted by psychologists in the area of race relations. We will benefit from its findings where relevant.

On the basis of much research evidence we can probably start from the previously mentioned fact that the mere frequency of contact, by itself, is not of any significance. What matters is the nature of the contact. Nevertheless, it is also obvious that without contact, attempts to reduce prejudice and to produce positive attitudes are doomed to fail, also (Wrightsman, 1972, p. 321; Deutsch and Collins, 1951). Even involuntary contact between individuals and groups who dislike each other may have positive effect if certain conditions exist. We can examine these conditions in terms of the characteristics of the individuals concerned or of the contact situation.

Individual Characteristics:

Prejudice and negative attitudes toward outsiders have various causes and serve various functions. As we have seen before, when these attitudes

are consistent and well organized such that they form a generalized outlook
on life, they are very difficult to change. This is because these attitudes
serve a very basic function of ego-defense and security (Smith, Bruner and
White, 1956; Katz, Sarnoff and Mc Clintock, 1956; Amir, 1969, p. 335;
Wrightsman, 1972, p. 322-323). In such cases attitude change may be possible
only if the individual develops insight into his deep-seated problems which
underlie his prejudiced attitudes.

Prejudiced attitudes may serve some other functions, also. For example,
they may provide the person with some short-cut information about the world,
albeit stereo-typic and distorted, or they may reflect social norms (Pettigrew,
1961; Kagitçibaşi, 1970). In such cases they are more open to change in the
face of new information that challenges old stereotypes or when new social
norms replace old ones as in the case of living abroad.

For most American military sojourners in Europe we can assume that
whatever prejudices they may have about the hosts would be in general of
the latter type rather than the former type. The prejudiced attitudes
of only a few of them would emerge from their personality psychodynamics
reflecting a generalized xenophobic, authoritarian outlook.

We can make the same assumption for the European hosts, and for that
matter for the majority of any group of people. In other words, prejudiced
attitudes are more likely to have social roots rather than unconscious
psychodynamic roots. This assumption would, therefore, lead to the
optimistic prediction that for the majority of the hosts and sojourners it

should be possible to create situations which would optimize positive attitude change toward one another, resulting in better overall adjustment of the American military sojourners. This brings us to a closer examination of of situational context.

Situational Characteristics:

Cook (1970) has described five characteristics of the contact situation. When these conditions are brought together, an optimum situation for positive attitude change results.

a. The range of possible relationships in the situation - The acquaintance potential:

We have daily contact with many people whom we know very little, such as cashiers, bus drivers, postmen etc, and these contacts do not contribute to our knowledge of those people. In big cities apartment dwellers often do not know their neighbours. However, if these neighbors, even black and white housewives are brought together and have a chance to talk and to learn about each other as persons, positive attitude change in the direction of greater acceptance results (Deutsch and Collins, 1951; Wilner, Walkley and Cook, 1955).

b. The relative status of the participants in a contact situation:

Related to the above condition is the relative status of the persons or groups in contact. Positive attitude change is more likely to result through equal status contacts. If there is a difference in status of the interacting persons, their interaction tends to be role-oriented, resulting in less opportunity for the development of authentic interpersonal relations.

c. The nature of the social norm concerning contact of one group with
    another:

    Many contact situations are governed by formal or informal social
norms and expectations. If persons or groups are brought into contact
situations where friendly associations are expected, beneficial attitude
change is more likely to result. Examples of such contact situations
might be social gatherings, clubs, volunteer organizations, etc, rather
than, for example, business contacts in which no friendly associations
are expected to form.

d. The presence of cooperative reward structure rather than a competitive one:

    Even if social norms favor tolerance, intergroup conflict may exist
if the interests of the groups clash with each other. The optimum
situation for positive intergroup attitudes is mutual interdependence and
cooperative reward structure. Thus, if conflicting individuals or groups
could be brought into equal status contact under common superordinate
goals which require for their attainment shared effort and interdependence,
then cooperation and positive intergroup attitudes are likely to result.

Especially if the efforts of just one of the groups is not enough for
goal attainment but rather both groups' shared work is necessary,
cooperation, rather than competition results. Sherif, who has done a
series of field experiments on this topic has amply demonstrated the
validity of these causal relationships (Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood
and Sherif, 1961). Examples of such cooperative situations might be
common club, organization or community projects, common problems that need
cooperative action for their resolution, etc.

e. The characteristics of the individuals who are in contact:

If the group members participating in intergroup contact differ from
the commonly held negative stereotypes of their groups, this has beneficial
effects on intergroup attitudes. Thus, working and interacting with a
member of a disliked group who does not seem to fit the negative
stereotype but is quite pleasant, may force the person to reexamine
his previously held stereotype and prejudice. It is especially helpful
if this member of the disliked group also is similar to the person in
background variables, such as education, social class, occupation and
furthermore holds similar attitudes with him on important social and
political topics. This kind of an interpersonal relation is really what
is meant by equal status contact. If such contacts could be instituted
paying special attention to the individual characteristics of the
participating members, much ground could be covered toward alleviating
tension and producing acceptance.

Cook (1964, 1970, 1971) created an experimental situation to test the
validity of the above assumptions in a ten-year project. Though the study
was designed specifically to deal with race prejudice in southern U.S., it
has wide implications for understanding and alleviating any kind of intergroup
conflict and prejudice. The results of the study were impressive in producing
change in early established prejudiced attitudes. However, they were by no
means invariable results.

This laboratory approach showed that when the above beneficial conditions
are brought together in one situation and the antiblack subject is exposed

to a month-long interracial work experience, his attitude toward blacks becomes significantly less negative in about 40% of the cases. This is still an impressive record given the fact that deep-seated prejudiced attitudes are extremely resistant to change.

In the case of the intergroup relations partaking in the American military personnel's sojourn in Europe such extreme prejudiced attitudes would not be very common. Thus if the above optimum conditions could be produced in intergroup contact with the host nationals, more widespread positive attitude change would be expected on both sides.

In addition to the above contact conditions we would recommend the effective use of information dissemination and persuasive communication to prepare the citizens of the host country toward better acceptance of the military sojourners. This could be done through information campaigns over the mass media or through special public relations routes such as distribution of information to the surrounding community, exhibitions, open-houses, outings etc.

Both the Turkish AFS study and other sojourn research show that positive growth and adjustment of the sojourner are possible only in accepting, favorable environments. For people to accept an incoming group, furthermore, they need to know who this incoming group is, what it is doing there, what are its motives and whether it is there to compete with them (by raising rents, salaries, etc) or not. Thus if people of the host nation could be given adequate preparatory information about the military community, they would be

less suspectful and more accepting in their general orientation toward it. Often this is not done, and the people feel that they have not been consulted or even informed about the introduction of a group of foreigners in their midst, whose activities are kept secret from them. When these feelings are aggrevated by the fear of the unknown and the suspicion of military interests they react to the incomers as intruders.

Thus, every effort should be made to open-up and make public the military community to the host nationals in order to alleviate these fears, suspicions and resentments and produce a more accepting environment for the sojourners.

The same type of preparatory information should also be provided the sojourner about the culture, traditions, history, social structure, social norms and beliefs, language and religion of the host nation and community both before the sojourn and during it. This kind of information would help the sojourner to better appreciate the people of the host nation.

Information, by itself, does not provide the solution to any problems. It is, however, the necessary background on which the before-mentioned optimum contact conditions could be built satisfactorily. When such all-rounded effort is made combining preparatory information and optimum contact conditions between the sojourning military personnel and their families and the citizens of the host nation, better adjustment, positive attitudes and more meaningful interpersonal relations could be expected. Such optimum intergroup relations, in turn, help develop better international understanding at the individual and group level, where it matters most.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Adorno, T.W., Frenkel-Brunswik, E., Levinson, D.J. and Sanford, R.N. The Authoritarian Personality. New York: Harper, 1950.

2. Amir, Y. Contact hypothesis in ethnic relations. Psychological Bulletin, 1969, 71, 319-342.

3. Anderson, Barbara G. (California State Coll., Hayward) Adaptive Aspects of Culture Shock. American Anthropologist, 1971 (Oct), Vol. 73 (5), 1121-1125.

4. Antler, L. Correlates of Home and Host Country Acquaintanceship among Foreign Medical Residents in the United States. Journal of Social Psychology, 1970, 80, 49-57.

5. Bailyn, L. and Kelman, H.C. "The Effects of a Year's Experience in America on Self-Image of Scandinavians: A Preliminary Analysis of Reactions to a New Environment", Journal of Social Issues, 1962, 18 (1) 30-40.

6. Barry, J. The Thai Students in the United States: A Study of Attitude Change. Dissertation Abstracts, 1966, 27 (4-6) 1116.

7. Bauer, R.A., Pool, I. de S. and Dexter, L.A. American Business and Public Policy: The Politics of Foreign Trade, New York: Atherton Press, 1963.

8. Becker, T. Patterns of Attitudinal Changes Among Foreign Students. American Journal of Sociology, 1968, 73, 431-442.

9. Becker, T. "Perceptious and Attitudinal Changes among Foreign Students on the UCLA Campus". Dissertation Abstracts, 1967, 27 (10-A), 3519-3520.

10. Bennet, J.W., Passin, H. and Mc Knight, R.K. In Search of Identity: The Japanese Overseas Scholar in America and Japan. Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1958.

11. Bjerstedt, A., Informational and Non-Informational Determinants of Nationality Stereotypes. The Journal of Social Issues, 1962, 18, 1, 24-29.

12. Blickenstaff, S. Application of American Training in India: Evaluation Seminar, 1960. Indian Steel Training and Educational Program in the United States. Carnegie Institute of Technology.

13. Brein, M. and David, K.H. Intercultural Communication and the Adjustment of the Sojourner. Psychological Bulletin, 1971, 215-230.

14. Cherrington, B.M. Methods of Education in International Attitudes. New York: Teachers College, Columbia Univ. 1934.

15. Christiansen, B. Attitudes Towards Foreign Affairs as a Function of Personality. Oslo Univ. Press, 1959.

16. Coelho, G.V. Changing Images of America: A Study of Indian Students' Perceptions, New York: Free Press, 1958.

17. Coelho, G.V. "Introduction" and Personal Growth and Educational Development through Working and Studying Abroad. Journal of Social Issues, 1962, 18, 1-6 and 55-67.

18. Cook, S.W. An Experimental analysis of attitude change in a natural social setting. Small contract proposal submitted to U.S. Commissioner on Education, 1964.

19. Cook, S.W. Motives in a conceptual analysis of attitude-related behavior. In W.J. Arnold and D. Levine (Eds) Nebraska symposium on motivation, 1969 Lincoln, Nebr. Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1970, 179-231.

20. Cook, S.W. The effect of Unintended racial contact upon racial interaction and attitude change. Final report, Project No. 5-1320, Contract No. DEC-4-7-051320-0273, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Office of Education, Bureau of Research, 1971.

21. David, Kenneth H. (U. Hawaii, Center FOR Cross-Cultural training and Research, Hilo) Effect of Intercultural Contact and International Stance on Attitude Change toward Host National Psychologia: An International Journal of Psychology in the Orient, 1971 (Dec), Vol. 14 (3-4), 153-157.

22. Davis, F.J. Perspectives of Turkish Students in the United States. Sociology and Social Research, 1963, 48, 47-57.

23. Day, J. A Study of Differential Effects of Length of Time in the United States on Foreign Graduate and Undergraduate Students with Regard to the Number, Severity and Category Groupings of Problems he Experiences, <u>Dissertation Abstracts</u>, 1969, 30 (3-A), 981-982.

24. Deutsch, M. and Collins, M. Interracial housing: A psychological evaluation of a social experiment. Minneapolis, Minn.: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1951.

25. Deutsch, S.E. and Won, G.Y.M. Some Factors in the Adjustment of Foreign Nationals in the United States. <u>Journal of Social Issues,</u> 1963, <u>19</u>, 115-122.

26. Dimarco, N.J. Stress and Adaptation in Corss-cultural Transition. <u>Dissertation Abstracts International</u>, 1971, <u>31</u> (9-A) 4330.

27. Doob, L.W. Scales for Assaying Psychological Modernization in Africa. <u>Public Opinion Quarterly</u>, 1967, <u>31</u>, 414-421.

28. Du Bois, C.A. <u>Foreign Students and Higher Education in the United States</u>. Washington: American Council on Education, 1956.

29. Ezekiel, R.S. The Personal Future and Peace Corps Performance, <u>Journal Personality and Social Psychology</u>, 1968, <u>8</u>, 1-26.

30. Festinger, L.A. <u>Theory of Cognitive Dissonance</u>, New York: Harper and Row: 1957.

31. Festinger, L. and Maccoby, N. On Resistance to Persuasive Communications. <u>Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology</u>, 1964, <u>68</u>, 359-366.

32. Fleishman, E.A., Harris, E.F. and Burtt, H.E. Leadership and Supervision in Industry: An Evaluation of a Supervisory Training Program. Monograph No. 33, Bureau of Education Research, Ohio State University, 1955.

33. French, J.R.P. and Zajonc, R.A. An Experimental study of Cross-cultural Norm Conflict. <u>Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology</u>, 1957, <u>54</u>, 218-224.

34. Gezi, K.I. Factors Associated with Student Adjustment in Cross-cultural Contact. California Journal of Educationa Research, 1965, 16, 129-136.

35. Gullahorn, J.T. and Gullahorn, J.E. An Extension of the U-curve Hypothesis. Journal of Social Issues, 1963, 19, 33-47.

36. Gullahorn, J.T. and Gullahorn, J.E. American students in France. Washington, D.C.: International Educational Exchange Service, U.S. Department of State, 1956 (mimeographed).

37. Herman, S.N. and Schild, E. Ethnic Role Conflict in a Cross-cultural Situation. Human Relations, 1960, 13, 215-228 (a).

38. Herman, S.N. and Schild, E. Contexts for the Study of Cross-cultural Education. Journal of Social Psychology, 1960, 52, 231-250 (b).

39. Hofman, J.E. and Zak, I. Interpersonal Contact and Attitude Change in a Cross-cultural Situation. Journal of Social Psychology, 1969, 78, 165-171.

40. Hovland, C.I. Reconciling Conflicting Results Derived from Experimental and Survey Studies of Attitude Change. American Psychologist, 1959, 14, 8-17.

41. Hylson Smith, K. A Study of Immigrant Group Relations in North London. Race, 1968, 9, 467=476.

42. Isaacs, H.R. Emergent Americans: A Report on"Crossroads Africa". New York: John Day, 1961.

43. Jacobson, E.H. Sojourn Research: A Definition of the Field, Journal of Social Issues, 1963, 19, 123-129.

44. Kagitçibaşi, Ç. Social Norms and Authoritarianism: A Turkish-American Comparison Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1970, 16 444-451.

45. Kagitçibaşi, Ç. Sosyal Değişmenin Psikolojik Boyutlari: Izmir Lise Ögrencileri Üzerinde Bir Inceleme. Ankara: Sosyal Bilimler Derneği yayinlari: A-5, 1972. (Psychological Dimensions of Social Change).

46. Kagitçibaşi, Ç. Psychological Aspects of Modernization in Turkey. Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology, 1973, 4, 157-174.

47. Katz, D., Sarnoff, D. and Mc Clintock, C.G. Ego-Defense and attitude change, Human Relations, 1956, 9, 27-45.

48. Kelman, H.C. Changing Attitudes through International Activities. Journal of Social Issues, 1962, 18, 68-87.

49. Kelman, H.C. The Reactions of Participants in a Foreign Specialists Seminar to Their American Experience. Journal of Social Issues, 1963, 19, 61-114.

50. Kelman H.C. and Bailyn, L. Effects of Cross-cultural Experience on National Images: A Study of Scandinavian Students in America. Journal of Conflict Resolution.

51. Lambert, R.D. and Bressler, M. Indian Students on an American Campus. Minneapolis Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1956.

52. Lambert, R.D. and Klinberg, O. Children's Views of Foreign Peoples. New York: Appletoncentury-Crofts, 1967.

53. Langley, G. and Basu, S. Exchange of Persons: An Evaluation of the Experience and Training of Indian Grantees under Fulbright and TCM Programs. A Study Prepared for the Evaluation Section of USIA, India 1953.

54. Leonard, E.W. Attitude Change in a College Program of Foreign Study and Travel. Educational Record, 1964, 45. 173-181.

55. Levinson, D.J. Authoritarian Personality and Foreign Policy. Journal of Conflict Resolution, 1957, 1, 37-47.

56. Lundstedt, S. An Introduction to Some Evolving Problems in Cross-cultural Research. Journal of Social Issues, 1963, 19, 1-9.

57. Lysgaard, S. Adjustment in a Foreign Society Norwegian Fulbright Grantees Visiting the United States. International Social Science Bulletin, 1955, 7, 45-51.

58. Mac Kinnon, W.J. and Centers, R. Authoritarianism and Internationalism. Public Opinion Quarterly, 1956, 20, 621-630.

59. Maynts, R. The Visiting Fellow: An Analysis of an Academic Role. *American Sociological Review*, 1960, 15, 735-741.

60. Mc Guire, W.J. Cognitive Consistency and Attitude Change. Fishbein, M. (Ed) *Readings in Attitude Theory and Measurement*. New York: Wiley, 1967, 401-421.

61. Mishler, A.L. Personal Contact in International Exchanges. Kelman H.C. (Ed) *International Behavior: A Social Psychological Analysis*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966, 548-564.

62. Morris, R.T. *The Two Way Mirror*. Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press 1960.

63. Newcomb, T.M. Persistence and Regression of Changes Attitudes: Long Range Studies *Journal of Social Issues*. 1963, 19, 4, 3-14.

64. Perlman, K.P.R. Psychosocial modernity and the initial accomodation of foreigners visiting the United States. *Journal of Social Psychology* 1970, 81, 121-123.

65. Pettigrew, T.F. Social Psychology and Desegregation Research. *American Psychologist*, 1961, 16, 105-112.

66. Pool, I. De S. Effects of Cross-National Contact on National and International Images. Kelman, H.C. *International Behavior: A Social Psychological Analysis*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1966, 104-129.

67. Pool, I. De S. What American Travellers Learn. *Antioch Review*, 1958, 18, 431-446.

68. Riegel, O.W. Residual Effects of Exchange of Persons, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 1953, 17, 319-327.

69. Riesman, D., Glazer, N. and Denney, R. *The Lonely Crowd*. New York: Doubleday and Co. 1950.

70. Rotter, J.B. Generalized Expectancies for Internal versus External Control of Reinforcement. *Psychological Monographs*, 1966, 80, 1, 1-28.

71. Scheiner, S.B. Differential Perceptions of Personality Characteristics in Cross-Abstracts Interactions. _Dissertation Abstracts International_, 1969, 30 (2B) 477-478.

72. Schild, E.O. The Foreign Student, as Stranger, Learning the Norms of the Host-Culture. _Journal of Social Issues_, 1962, _18_, 41-54.

73. Scott, F. _The American Experience of Swedish Students_. Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1956.

74. Scott, W.A. Psychological and social correlates of International images. Kelman, H.C. (Ed) _International behavior: A social-psychological analysis_ New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966, 70-104.

75. Selltiz, C. As Others see us: Factors Influencing the Image of the United States held by Nationals of Other Countries. Unpublished Master Dissertation. New York University, 1956.

76. Selltiz, C. and Cook, S.W. Factors Influencing Attitudes of Foreign Students toward the Host Country. _Journal of Social Issues_, 1962, _18_, 7-23.

77. Selltiz, D., Christ, J.R., Havee, J. and Cook, S.W. _Attitudes and Social Relations of Foreign Students in the United States_. Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1963.

78. Seth, M.G. A Study of Attitudinal Change of Indian Students in the United States. _Dissertation Abstracts_, 21 (10), 3160, 1961.

79. Sherif, M., Havey, O.J., White, B.J., Hood, W.E. and Sherif, C.W. _Intergroup conflict and cooperation: The Robber's Cave experiment_. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklama Book Exchange, 1961.

80. Seward, G.H. and Williamson, R.C. Cross-National Study of Adolescent Professional Goals. _Human Development_, 1969, _12_, 248-254.

81. Sewell, W.H., Morris, R.T. and Davidsen, O. Scandinavian Students' Images of the United States: A Study in Cross-Cultural Education. _Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science_. 1954, _295_, 126-135.

82. Smith, D.H. and Inkeles, A.   The OM Scale: A Comparative Socio-
     Psychological Measure of Individual Modernity.   Sociometry, 1966,
     29, 353-377.

83. Smith, H.P.   Changes in Attitudes Resulting from Experiences in Foreign
     Countries.   Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1954.

84. Smith, H.P. and Rosen, B.C.   Some Psychological Correlates of World-
     Mindedness and Authoritarianism.   Journal of Personality, 1958, 26
     170-183.

85. Smith, M.B. (Ed)   Attitudes and Adjustment in Cross-Cultural Contact:
     Recent Studies of Foreign Students.   Journal of Social Issues, 12, 1956.

86. Smith, M.B.   Social Psychology and Human Values, Chicago: Aldine, 1969.

87. Smith, M.B., Fawcett, J.T., Ezekiel, R. and Roth, S.   A Factorial Study
     of Morale Among Peace Corps Teachers in Ghana.   Journal of Social Issues.
     1063, 19, 3, 1-32.

88. Smith, M.B., Bruner, J.S. and White, R.W.   Opinions and Personality.
     New York: Wiley, 1056.

89. Srole, L.   "Anomie, Authoritarianism and Prejudice" a letter to the
     Editor.   American Journal of Sociology, 1956, 62, 63-67.

90. Taft, R. and Johnston, R.   The Assimilation of Adolescent Polish
     Immigrants and Parent Child Interaction.   Merrill Palmer Quarterly,
     1967, 13, 111-120.

91. Triandis, H.C.   Some Psychological Dimensions of Modernization, Paper
     Presented to the 17. Applied Psychological Congress, Liege, Belgium, 1971

92. Useem, J. and Useem, R.   The Western Educated Man in India.   New York:
     Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1955.

93. Verroff, J.   African Students in the United States.   Journal of Social
     Issues, 1963, 19, 48-60.

94. Watson, J.D. and Lippitt, R.   Learning Across Cultures: A Study of Germans
     Visiting America.   Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, Univ. of
     Michigan, 1955.

95. Wilner, D.M., Walkley, R. and Cook, S.W. Human relations in interracial housing: A study of the contact hypothesis. Minneapolis, Minn.: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1955.

96. Wrightsman, L.S. Social psychology in the seventies. Monterey, Calif.: Brooks/Cole Publishing Co., 1972.